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764 Most of the tombs we opened contained only one skeleton but collective burial was sometimes practiced. In a long narrow vault of a rectangular ahu under the hill of Vai-tara-kai-ua we procured the bones of several individuals. Between La Pérouse and Ovahe is an ahu with vaults perpendicular to the sea which are filled with an incredible number of bones. Geiseler (87, p. 30) writes: "A burial is chosen by a family and kept by it for a long time. In order to make more room when other people die, all the bones of the dead are removed with the exception of the skulls." Thomson (215, p. 503) found in a vault of ahu Hanahakou (?), between Ahu-te-peu and ahu Ohau, many skulls, "and the surroundings excluded the idea of any other portions of the bodies having been interred with them." I found no vaults reserved exclusively for skulls.

Often the remains of the dead were scattered on or near the ahu. This custom explains the observation of Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 294): "I, as well as some others, saw a human skeleton lying in one of these platforms, just covered with stones." La Pérouse (130, vol. 1, p. 79) "met with several pyramids of stone arranged nearly like balls in a park of artillery, and perceived some human bones in the neighborhood of the pyramids and statues, of which the latter had always their backs directed toward the sea." The decay of many ahus, even at the time of Captain Cook, might explain the presence of bones on the surface.

764 784 ● 688 The removal of the dead to the ahu probably ended the mourning period. While the body was exposed near the ahu, the surrounding region was under tapu; fishing was prohibited along the near-by shore and cooking was restricted. In principle, fire could not be lighted in the area under the interdiction, and smoke which was especially feared had to be hidden or smothered with grass. The symbol of the tapu was a pile of stones (*pipi hereko*) with a bleached stone on the top (p. 327). The penalty for breaking the tapu was death inflicted with a club. The spot marked by the tapu could not be approached in the daylight (?). (See 194, p. 232.)

764 262 The funeral for a man was always the occasion for big banquets, concerning which I collected confusing evidence.

An earth oven called *umu ki te takapu o koro* (for the funeral of the father) was prepared by a brother or cousin of the deceased in behalf of the eldest son of the dead. Fowls were given to the brothers or cousins of the dead and were tied together in groups of ten before the ahu. On the day of death the eldest son and the family of the deceased made an earth oven. The widow also made a special earth oven with the help of her parents. The food was presented to the eldest son, who gave it to his father's brother or sister. The son did not eat anything and he delivered his own earth oven to his mother or his mother's family. Neither the son nor the daughter was allowed to partake of the first food. But on the same day, the brother of the dead, his father, or his mother, or some other relative prepared a special earth oven for the children of the dead who had not been allowed to eat the first food. The brothers-in-law could also make the earth oven called *takapu*. If there were no parents to make the *takapu*, the sons made an earth oven for themselves. The parents of a dead child could not eat the first *umu*. In Tepano's time the Easter Islanders still buried people in the ahu, but they did not let the bodies rot on the scaffolds.

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(*tapu-peera, rahui*). These tapu cairns vary in size, some being as much as 1.5 meters high and others consisting of a few stones piled up. (See 171, p. 174; 87, p. 28.) Now Easter Islanders connect the cairns with funerals, the only reason for a tapu that they clearly remember. That tapus were not associated with death alone is indicated by other customs and fears which have survived. Tapu beliefs are displayed in the precautions surrounding a child's head; in the belief that stomach aches are provoked by sexual intercourse with *ariki* women; and in the sacredness of spots where navel cords have been buried. Certain places on the island—among them the strip in front of the ahu—were considered tapu, and thus dangerous for people who stepped on them. According to Geiseler (87, p. 28) not only the statues and the ahu were tapu but the island of Motu-nui upon which no one was allowed to land except in the months of July, August, and September. Early visitors (90, p. 95; 83, vol. 1, p. 568) observed that the natives were sometimes displeased when they walked over the paved area of the ahu or on the pedestals of the statues, or even when they examined the stones of the monuments. However, the islanders must have thought that the foreigners were not subject to the same tapus as themselves and that they had nothing to fear from the gods, since they did not seriously attempt to keep them away from monuments.

The king (*ariki-mau*) was highly tapu because of his mana, and the bird-man, after being designated by the god Makemake, was considered tapu for a year and lived in seclusion. Several foods were prohibited to the king and other *ariki*, but other foods could be eaten by the common people only after they had been presented to the king (p. 132).

Both the words *rahui* and *tapu-peera* refer to temporary and arbitrary prohibitions laid on a piece of land by a chief or some influential proprietor. This measure prevented trespassing or reserved the produce of the land for the individual or for some special occasion. The sign of the *rahui* was a branch hung near the tapu place or a pile of stones erected on it. All crops were under a royal tapu until the first fruits were offered to the king in a ceremony before the harvest. Roussel (190, pp. 259, 428) writes: "Woe to the man who dared to violate the tapu. He payed for it with his goods and even with his life." Death inflicted by beating with a club was the penalty for such a crime. Routledge (194, p. 232) says that the spot marked by a tapu could not be approached in daylight. The owner of a piece of land on the coast could protect his rights to fish or collect mollusks on the shore along his estate by setting up a *rahui*. "This *rahui* consisted of three piled up stones on land contiguous to the portion of the sea he wanted to reserve for his own use" (190, p. 429).

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hind. Everybody else carried *ao* (dance paddles) and they shook their bodies." 796

Early information gathered at Tahiti by Admiral de Lapelin (129, p. 110) 792 describes the bird-man as he came down from Orongo after the finding of the egg:

> The man who was lucky enough to find the first egg or the first small bird hurried to show it to all the other competitors. They shaved his head, his face was painted in red and black; all those who had found eggs after he did constituted his retinue. These warriors distributed eggs to those they wanted to keep near the king who was elected for a year, without any lack of regard for the king who reigned by right of primogeniture. 796 792 302 643
>
> Each with an egg on his hand and the new majesty with a bird hanging on his shoulders walked about in the surrounding places singing and dancing. The new king designated two or three persons who must be sacrificed for the prosperity of his reign. It was the choice of the victims which caused a war among the tribes every year.

The new bird-man went to Rano-raraku where he remained in seclusion 792 in a house whose foundations may be seen at the foot of the volcano, close to the giant statues. Other houses on the slope of Rano-raraku and near ahu Tonga-riki were designated to Routledge as having been used by bird-men. More likely, although no proof may be produced for or against it, seems the tradition that there were houses for *tangata-manu* in most of the larger settlements which had important image ahus. Routledge (192, p. 351) considers this multiplicity of *tangata-manu* houses to be a modern development. She was also told that the bird-men of the western tribes took up residence at Anakena.

The *manu-tara* egg was emptied after three days, filled with tapa, and 792 hung up inside the bird-man's house. It was credited with great magical 778 virtues and the natives believed that it made the food supply more abundant. The deep-sea fishing season opened with the coming of the first *manu-tara*. Routledge (194, p. 262) says that " . . . till their arrival all fish living in twenty or thirty fathoms were considered poisonous."

The seclusion of the bird-man lasted one year, during which he was under 792 strict tapu, especially during the first five months. Routledge (194, p. 248) 784 says that he could not leave the house, "sleeping all the day, only coming out to sit in the shade." He was not allowed to bathe himself or to eat food other than that which was prepared for him in a special oven. His wife might go to Rano-raraku, but she could not "enter his house and he hers, on pain of death." The *tangata-manu* was attended by an *ivi-atua*, who, according to Routledge, was not an ordinary priest, but a poor relative of the hero. This attendant or priest remained in the same hut which was divided in half by a partition. He prepared the food for the bird-man and himself, cooking his own in a separate oven. Clark (52, p. 145) heard that the bird-man did not wash or cut his hair or nails during his year of seclusion.

Thomson (215, p. 482), Routledge (194, p. 264), and I were all told that 792 gifts of food were brought to the *tangata-manu*. He was entitled to the first 688

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sugar cane. To refuse to contribute food for the maintenance of the bird-man was an offence which could be punished by the burning of one's house. The bird-man dropped his old name and adopted a new one, mysteriously revealed to him; it became also the name of the year. Thus the bird cult was the basis for a convenient system of chronology.

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All those who, like the missionaries, were on Easter Island when the bird cult was functioning, stress the violence which inevitably followed the selection of the bird-man. They imply that he had temporal powers similar to those of a chief. Ollivier (165, vol. 39, p. 256) states that the bird-man had "tyrannic power." "The defeated are shamefully relegated to a corner of the island where they starve and die because of cold. With the installment of the new power, burnings and plunderings start. Woe to the man who owns some sweet potatoes or chickens. The chief [bird-man] with his followers will fall upon the houses like birds of prey."

Gana (86, p. 33) was told, probably by the missionaries, that the bird-man was an "important chief whose functions last a year" and whose attributes were of a military nature. Roussel (190, p. 427) writes that the bird-man had authority for daily and nightly marauding and the fooling of the people and for "spending the year in continuous childish and wanton feasts." During the harvest feasts "the *mata-toa* [bird-men] left their caves of the Mataveri mountain," and swooped down like vultures upon everything which suited them (190, p. 428). Rarely did these feasts pass without trouble, since the *mata-toa* quarreled about the booty. The man who was designated by Make-make as bird-man for the year was entitled to a large share of the food distributed at feasts.

792 661

Routledge gives no hint of the military sway of the bird-man, such as implied by missionary accounts. Perhaps there is some connection between the acts of violence recorded by early observers and the statement by one of Routledge's informants that those who did not contribute food to the bird-man were punished by having their houses burned. Perhaps the bitterness of the defeat or the insolence of the victorious group led to serious arguments and even war. Evidence given by the last of the surviving contenders or by witnesses of the bird cult stress the dread consequences these contests had on the peace of the island.

792 173

The old men who informed Routledge gave her 86 names of bird-men; probably most of these names were also those of the years when each man was made *tangata-manu*. Routledge (194, p. 226) remarks that "chronological sequence was achieved with fair certainty for eleven years prior to the final celebration at Orongo. In addition to the bird-name, the name of both winner and *hopu* were ascertained, with those of their respective clans." When Tepano's paternal uncle, Rue, became *tangata-manu*, he gave his bird-name,

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in order to evade the enemy. (One of the nephews, who had been of the party when the final statues were overthrown, had met with a tragic end, being drowned by catching his hand in a rock when diving for lobsters under water.) With the exception of those near the standing statues, we practically never found an earth burial. This seems to account for the exaggerated estimates of the number of human remains on the island; it is doubtful if even five hundred skulls could be collected, but, whether in caves or ruined ahu, a large proportion of those which exist are very much in evidence.

Memorials of the dead were erected in various places independently of the actual locality where the corpse rested. Some of these were simply mounds of earth, which can be seen on various hills; there is a regular succession on the landward rim of the Raraku crater, opposite to the great cliff, but one at least of these was a memorial to a man whose body had been disposed of in the clefts of the cliff. Others of these independent memorials were in the shape of cairns about 6 feet in height, known as "pipi-hereko," and were formerly surmounted by a white stone. Many of them still exist, and they are particularly numerous on the high ground above Anakena Cove. The locality was chosen as one which was but little inhabited, for the taboo for the dead (or pera) extended to them, and no one went near them in the daylight, on penalty of being stoned, till the period of mourning had been terminated with the usual feast. Various voyagers commented on these cairns, which were marked objects, and Cook thinks that they may have been put up instead of statues.

It would seem by the following tale, which imposes a somewhat severe strain on the European imagination, that piles of stones had in the native mind a certain resemblance to the human figure. "There was once an old lady who had an arm so long that it could have reached right across the island. She was a bad old woman, and once a month had a child to eat, so a certain man determined to put an end to her power for doing harm. He took her out in a boat to fish, first telling his small son to collect stones, and after they had gone to put them in piles in front of the house of the woman, and also to make a fire and much smoke. When the canoe had got out to sea, he looked back and found the boy had done as he was told, and glimpses of the cairns could be seen among the clouds of smoke. Then

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and if it was not worn the aku-aku would be angry. The house was divided into two, the other half being occupied by a man who was called an ivi-atua, but was of an inferior type to the one gifted with prophecy, and apparently merely a poor relation of the hero; there were two cooking-places, as even he might not share that of the bird-man. Food was brought as gifts, especially the first sugar-cane, and these offerings seem to have been the sole practical advantage of victory; those who did not contribute were apt to have their houses burnt. The bird-man's wife came to Raraku, but dwelt apart, as for the first five months she could not enter her husband's house, nor he hers, on pain of death. A few yards below the bird-man's house is the ahu alluded to on p. 191 (fig. 60); it consists merely of a low rough wall built into the mountain, the ground above it being levelled and paved. It was reserved for the burial of bird-men; they were the uncanny persons whose ghosts might do unpleasant things—they were safer hidden under stones. The name Orohié is given to the whole of this corner of the mountain, with its houses, its ahu, and its statues. To this point the figures led which were round the base of the hill. If they were re-erected, they would stand with their backs not to the mountain, but to Orohié.[1] As the bird-man gazed lazily forth from the shade of his house, above him were the quarries with their unfinished work, below him were the bones of his dead predecessors, while on every hand giant images stood for ever in stolid calm. It is difficult to escape from the question, Were the statues on the mountain those of bird-men?

The hopu also retired into private life; if he were of the Ao, he could come to Orohié, but he might, if he wished, reside in his own house, which was in that case divided by a partition through which food was passed; it might not be eaten with his right hand, as that had taken the egg. His wife and children were also kept in seclusion and forbidden to associate with others.

The new Ao had meanwhile taken up their abode at Mataveri. From here a few weeks after their arrival they went formally to Motu Nui to obtain the young manu-tara, known from their cry as "piu." After the brief visit of the birds when the first egg was laid, they absented themselves from the islet for a period varyingly reported as from three days to a month. On their

[1] Nos. 1, 2, and 3, fig. 60, form part of this series. See also fig. 74.

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take formed the subject of one of the tablets, and drew one of its figures, which bears no resemblance to any other known symbol.

The details of manu were more satisfactory. It was known as "te manu mo te poki," or, "the bird for the child," and the child so initiated became a "poki-manu," or "bird-child." It could not be found that any special benefit resulted from it, but a child whose parents had not performed the ceremony, and whose love affairs, for instance, went wrong, might even kill his father in revenge for the omission. An expert, known as "tangata-tapa-manu," (the man who, as Dr. Marett would tell us, "knew the right things to say," was called in and given a hen's egg—on this last point much stress was laid; he was at the same time told the child's name, which was subsequently inserted in the ritual. The child was shaved, decorated with white bands, and hung round with coconuts, or, as these were not readily obtainable in Easter Island, with pieces of wood carved to represent them called "tahonga." A number of children, each with an expert, then went up to Orongo; the correct month was December, and the Ao were therefore below at Mataveri. Jotefa, on whose final account I principally rely, stated that he and nine other children, with their parents, and ten tangata-tapa-manu, went to Orongo from his home on the north coast, a distance of some eleven miles; they took with them ten chickens. The party danced in front of all the houses, went to the carved rocks at the end, and, coming back, stood in a semicircle in front of the door of Taura-renga, the house of the statue, the experts being behind and all singing; no offering was made to the image. Another authority stated that the parents and children went on the roof of the house, the experts being below, and the parents gave chickens to the men. Jotefa's party returned to their home, had a feast, and gave more food to the professionals. The tangata-tapa-manu subsequently repeated the ritual at any koro which were being held in the island, the object apparently being to make public the child's initiation.

If, by reason of the state of the island, it was not possible to go to Orongo, the ceremony could take place at any of the big ahu with images. Viriamo, whose home, as will be remembered, was near Raraku, said with much pride that she was a "poki-manu"; she and her three younger sisters had been taken at the same time to the ahu of Orohié. Both parents